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THE WASHINGTON TIMES
19 August 1985

GEORGIE ANNE GEYER

Planned chaos in Lebanon?

Several years ago, some members of the Lebanese government of more-or-less President Amin Gemayel estimated the value of the shells and bullets expended on only one night of savage fighting there at \$5 million.

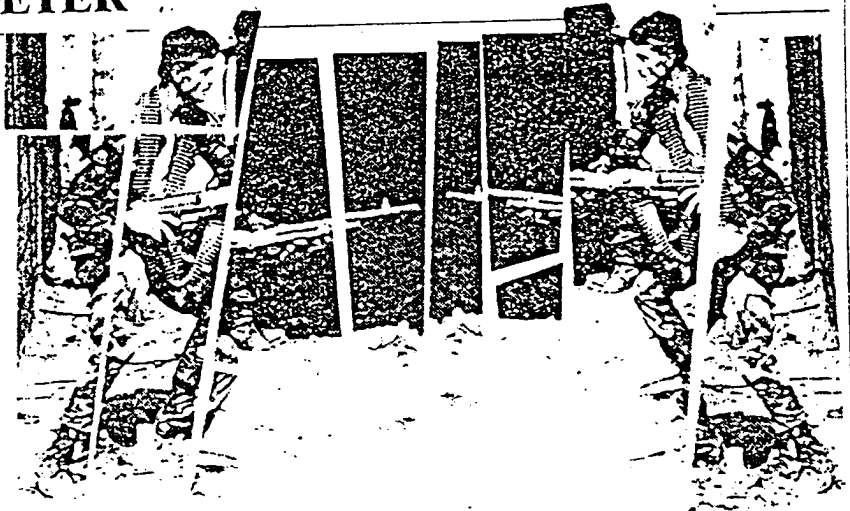
That kind of extraordinary outlay of money and weaponry — a development privately remarked upon with a kind of awe among analysts from Western Europe to the Middle East — is leading to some startling new speculation on what Lebanon really is all about.

Some of them are saying that, far from being an accidental or out-of-control war, Lebanon, on many levels, is a deliberate and planned chaos. As one analyst intimately connected with the war put it to me:

"The story not told is that this is an international war. It is the Spanish Civil War of our times. At stake are a number of things, from the fate of the Palestinians to whether the Soviets take over the whole area.

"One key area the Soviets did not control was Lebanon. Now, there is

Georgie Anne Geyer is a nationally syndicated columnist.



The Lebanon war most definitely is being used and molded from outside, in particular by the Soviets.

Soviet control — but negatively." He paused for emphasis. "This is Vietnam II," he added.

What is important to watch in Lebanon is the sheer amount of weaponry and money for weaponry. This tells both the story and at the same time why this story is so dangerous that none of these analysts wanted to be quoted.

Basically, they agree on this argument:

Lebanon, with its longtime deli-

cate balance between factions, could have fallen apart into warring clans and sectors. But, without the little-reported and unprecedented international supply of arms, it would never have reached the stage of savagery that goes on day after day even now.

There are missiles launched from trucks, and they are shot off at the rate of 36 every half-minute. For the most common gun, the 152mm, every shell costs \$1,000. Private armies have D-72 tanks, which the Soviets give to some Warsaw Pact countries; and some Palestinian groups have helicopters.

The enormous preponderance of weapons comes across the Black Sea from the Soviet Union through the Bosphorus to land at such ports as Tyre and Latakia. Some come directly by land across Syria, again with Soviet markings.

Figures used by the Foreign and

Commonwealth Office in London say that Syria, the Soviets' main foothold in the Arab world, heads the list of Soviet-arms recipients for the last five years. In 1983 alone, supplies to it were worth about \$1.7 billion.

One curiosity also little known is that the Soviets obtained about 20 percent of their hard currency earnings, again in 1983 alone, from repayments of principle and interest on arms sales in these countries.

So while the attention of the leaders of the world's traditionally organized countries (the United States and Western Europe) is focused on the "big" issues of nuclear arms and their control, it is telling that virtually no one is watching the supposedly "peripheral" area of Lebanon.

I called the prestigious International Institute of Strategic Studies in London and asked whether they had any information on the amounts of arms going into Lebanon.

"In a word, no," a military spokesman told me. "We watch the big stuff." Then he asked the key question: "How do you cover stuff from the Syrians to their proteges? From Iran to the Hezbollah? To Christians from Cyprus? Knowledgeable sources can't,

because the data is too scarce."

Because the entire Lebanon war is orchestrated in such an "irregular" manner, the constituted authority of the world cannot get a grip on it. And, indeed, that is precisely why it is orchestrated in such a way.

One caveat: it would be far too much to say that the entire Lebanon war, which now has gone on for 10 horrifying years, was planned from afar — from Moscow or Damascus. There are too many fissiparous protagonists in Lebanon.

But what begins to become clear when you separate some of the

strands of the Lebanon war is that it most definitely is being used and molded from outside, in particular by the Soviets, through their macabre arms input and the control that gives them.

The useful chaos of the moment can, then, in their eyes, lead to a quite different future, as yet unforeseen, one in which the Soviet Union plays a major role. The analysts also say, for instance, that the little-known Lebanese Communist Party increasingly is inserting itself into important posts.

The Spanish Civil War of our time? When one thinks about it, it doesn't seem as unlikely as it might sound at first.

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13 AUG 1985

Memorandum for: DDI

DDI-04084/85

DCI — Per your request
Bob: of 26 July. Rg.

Attached is OGI's response to the DCI's tasking to identify areas of competition between Cuba and Libya in the Third World. It reflects extensive input from NESA and ALA and was coordinated with the DO.

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Director,

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Office of Global Issues

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Libyan-Cuban Competition for Influence in the Third World

A Background Paper for the DCI

In recent years Cuba and Libya have assisted groups or governments in some 43 Third World countries. For the most part Cuban and Libyan activities are mutually supportive, and Havana on occasion has even encouraged Third World governments and political groups to seek out Libyan assistance. (S NF)

In Latin America, however, recent reports indicate Cuba is concerned that Libyan advocacy of militant tactics will disrupt its post-Grenada strategy of counseling moderation among regional leftists. While Cuba and Libya continue to provide complementary support to opposition groups in Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, El Salvador, and Guatemala, as well as to the Sandinista regime, friction has surfaced in the Caribbean. (S NF)

Although Cuba in the past welcomed additional sources of financial support, there are indications that Havana has recently come to view Libyan activism in the Caribbean as meddling in its own backyard. Havana probably fears that violent anti-US activity in the region could be seen in Washington as Cuban-inspired, thus prompting a strong US response. Cuban annoyance with and opposition to Libyan activities has already been reported in a number of countries

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We believe there is potential for Cuban-Libyan competition or conflict in [REDACTED] Latin American countries:

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[REDACTED]

In Africa, Libyan and Cuban activities mostly complement each other. Both countries, for example, are strong backers of the Ethiopian government and the South-West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) in Namibia. (S NF)

While there is little evidence that either side views the other as a direct competitor in the region, we believe the potential for competition exists in some countries:

- o In Ethiopia, while Addis Ababa is confident of its longstanding Cuban military and economic assistance, it believes Libya may renew its support for Eritrean separatists.
- o In Sudan, Tripoli is attempting to establish a state-to-state military assistance relationship [REDACTED]
- o While Cuba has made repeated attempts to establish better relations, including an economic assistance program with the Zairian government, Libya has been reported to be increasing support to insurgent groups. (S NF)

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Appendix A is a listing of the Third World countries where Libya and Cuba have since 1982 promised or provided Official Military Assistance, Official Economic Assistance (including scholarships to students), or engaged in Political Penetration activities (the promise or provision of arms, money or other forms of support to political groups, political parties, dissidents, or insurgents in that country).

[REDACTED]

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APPENDIX A

Cuba-Libya: Summary of Third World Aid Activities, 1983-Present*

	CUBA			LIBYA		
	<u>Official Military Assistance</u>	<u>Official Economic Assistance</u>	<u>Political Penetra- tion</u>	<u>Official Military Assistance</u>	<u>Official Economic Assistance</u>	<u>Political Penetra- tion</u>
LATIN AMERICA						
ANTIGUA			X			X
ARGENTINA			X			
BAHAMAS			X			X
BARBADOS			X			
BELIZE			X			
BOLIVIA		X	X			
BRAZIL			X			
CHILE			X			X
COLOMBIA			X			X
COSTA RICA			X			X
DOMINICA			X			X
DOMINICAN REPUBLIC			X			X
ECUADOR		X	X			
EL SALVADOR			X			X
FRENCH GUIANA			X			X
GRENADA			X			X
GUADELOUPE			X			X
GUATEMALA			X			X
GUYANA	X	X	X		X	X
HAITI			X			
HONDURAS			X			
JAMAICA			X			
MARTINIQUE			X			X
MEXICO		X	X			
NETH. ANTILLES			X			X
NICARAGUA	X	X	X	X	X	X
PANAMA			X			X

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	CUBA			LIBYA		
	<u>Official Military Assistance</u>	<u>Official Economic Assistance</u>	<u>Political Penetra- tion</u>	<u>Official Military Assistance</u>	<u>Official Economic Assistance</u>	<u>Political Penetra- tion</u>
PERU			X			
PUERTO RICO			X			
ST. LUCIA			X			X
ST. VINCENT			X			X
SURINAME	X	X	X	X	X	
TRINIDAD & TOBAGO			X			X
URUGUAY			X			
VENEZUELA			X			
NORTH AFRICA						
ALGERIA		X				X
MAURITANIA		X				X
MOROCCO					X	X
TUNISIA					X	X
WESTERN SAHARA			X			
SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA						
ANGOLA	X	X				
BENIN	X	X		X	X	
BOTSWANA		X				
BURKINA		X		X	X	
BURUNDI		X		X	X	
CAMEROON					X	X
CAPE VERDE	X	X				
C.A.R.						X
CHAD						X
CONGO	X	X			X	
EQUATORIAL GUINEA	X	X				
ETHIOPIA	X	X		X	X	X
GHANA	X	X	X	X	X	X
GUINEA	X	X				
GUINEA-BISSAU	X	X		X		

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	CUBA			LIBYA		
	<u>Official Military Assistance</u>	<u>Official Economic Assistance</u>	<u>Political Penetra- tion</u>	<u>Official Military Assistance</u>	<u>Official Economic Assistance</u>	<u>Political Penetra- tion</u>
KENYA						X
LESOTHO				X		X
MADAGASCAR		X				
MALAWI						X
MALI		X			X	
MAURITIUS						X
MOZAMBIQUE	X	X		X		
NAMIBIA			X			X
NIGER						X
NIGERIA		X				X
RWANDA		X				
SAO TOME PRINCIPE	X	X				
SEYCHELLES	X	X		X		
SIERRA LEONE	X					X
SOMALIA					X	X
SOUTH AFRICA			X			X
SUDAN			X	X	X	X
TANZANIA	X	X				
UGANDA		X		X		X
ZAIRE		X				X
ZAMBIA		X				
ZIMBABWE		X				
EAST ASIA						
MALAYSIA						X
PHILIPPINES						X
THAILAND						X
EUROPE						
MALTA				X	X	X
MIDDLE EAST						
BAHRAIN			X			

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	CUBA			LIBYA		
	<u>Official Military Assistance</u>	<u>Official Economic Assistance</u>	<u>Political Penetra- tion</u>	<u>Official Military Assistance</u>	<u>Official Economic Assistance</u>	<u>Political Penetra- tion</u>
CYPRUS						X
IRAQ		X				X
JORDAN		X				
LEBANON						X
OMAN			X			X
NORTH YEMEN					X	X
SOUTH YEMEN		X			X	X
SYRIA				X	X	
TURKEY						X
U.A.E.						X
SOUTH ASIA						
AFGHANISTAN	X	X				
BANGLADESH						X
NEPAL		X				
PAKISTAN		X				

*Excludes countries in which Cuban and/or Libyan involvement is minimal.

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